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the coast is broken by three large inlets, allowing of safe anchorage for schooners, with comparatively easy access to the shore, and so affording sites for coco-nut plantations, maintained for the production of copra, which, except for a little fishing for trochus shell, is the only possibility the country offers to white men. Between and behind these plantations are more native villages. The hinterland soon breaks into foot-hills, and behind these rises range after range of heavily forested mountains, a difficult region, much of which has not yet been explored. The interior is volcanic, culminating, as far as the northern half of the island is concerned, in the active volcano Balbi (9,500 ft.), an object of mysterious dread to the natives, who place there the home of their dead.

The peninsula at the north-western end of the island, the scene of many of the activities described in the following pages, slopes gently down from the cliffs on its northern shore, to a flat sandy beach bordering the bay which forms its southern boundary, some five miles distant (Pl. 1 *b*). The interior of this peninsula is covered with what I take to be secondary forest; the whole of it has probably been cleared at one time or another by the natives for their taro gardens, the positions of which they must change frequently.

A cleared track, known as 'the Government road', runs round the greater part of the coast of Buka, and, in places, when sufficiently dry, is possible for wheeled vehicles, enabling the planters to run a lorry for the collection of copra. There is a similar road along the north coast of Bougainville and down the east coast for some ninety miles, as far as Kieta, the place of residence of the District Officer and the only settlement other than isolated plantations on the island. This road is, in dry weather, also practicable for wheeled traffic for rather more than ten miles to the east of Buka Passage, but after that it encounters the Umu Mountains, which, though not high, are steep, and thenceforward a succession of rivers (innocent of bridges) and hilly patches make it improbable that the road will be available for any but pedestrians for a long time to come. It affords pleasant walking, and is much used by the natives in their numerous comings and goings, to visit relatives, to exchange commodities, or merely for fun. The people of each village are held responsible for keeping in traversable condition the stretch of road for a certain distance on either side of their village. They are supposed to work on it one day a week. The women do most of the work.

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other 17 in. in length and 3 in. in width. Both large and small ones are considered to be male, and each bears the name of the *urar* whose voice it is supposed to be. Thus one of those I saw at the *wapi* ceremony was called Buwō, another Upitomet, another Tororon.

FIG. 8. Bull-roarer.

There is also a subsidiary instrument which is regarded as female. It is made by splitting open the stalk of a bush banana leaf, propping the two sides apart with a bit of stick and fixing the flat part of a leaf into the gap. By blowing upon this leaf in a certain manner, a sound is produced which resembles the wailing of women. The instrument has no name; they say: '*Mon to biom non*' (the woman is crying). The Hahon people of the mountainous hinterland make it in a different manner, by taking a canarium almond which has had its nut extracted by a *karib* (a species of tree rat) through a hole which the animal makes with its teeth at one end. They blow into this hole, thus producing a similar noise. These instruments are used to impress the novices while they are sleeping in the bush. One man sounds it on one side of their shelter, another sounds it from another direction, another in yet another place. The boys think it is their mothers wailing for them, and are frightened, not knowing what is going to happen to them. These female instruments are not sacred, and are thrown away when they have served their purpose, but no one would make one for me.

CEREMONIES SUBSIDIARY TO THE *WAPI*

Several days after the *wapi*, there is a ceremony involving the mothers of the novices (*tʃina'upi*) and the *amro*. As usual in matters of time, it was impossible to obtain exact information as to the length of the interval that is allowed to elapse. Its purpose is to allow the novices to become accustomed to managing their extremely awkward head-gear. This ceremony is called *watog* (*wa-* causative prefix, *tog* = barter). The novices take no part in it, but remain still secluded in the bush until the following day.

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Fire-making by this method is practised by men and boys only. 372
It is resorted to if easier means of obtaining fire are not available. I have seen it done in the bush, but only when we were some distance from a friendly village. The usual plan is to borrow a glowing stick from some one else's fire. One of the first and most frequent commands a child hears from its elders is '*Di ma ta tsura!*' 'Fetch fire.' The youngster, possibly an infant hardly able [857]
to walk, toddles off to the nearest hut and returns with a burning stick or a small portion of a smouldering log, with which a new fire is started. When on a journey, either walking or by canoe, [484]
lengths of smouldering log are carried, with which to rekindle the inevitable pipe. In an outrigger canoe the log is usually laid across the platform, and many canoes bear blackened marks where it has been allowed to burn down unnoticed. Serious accidents caused by this seem, however, to be rare.

A fire is kept smouldering in the huts all through the night. Any one who happens to wake up when it is low will stir up the embers or throw on another piece of wood. If it chances to go out, the woman to whom the house belongs will rekindle it as soon as she wakes, getting a smouldering ember from a neighbouring hut. The fire serves several purposes. It keeps the place warm—for nights even on the Equator can be distinctly cold, relatively speaking. The smoke serves as some protection against the mosquitoes. It is very likely that any one waking in the night will want to rekindle a pipe. The presence of a fire, however small, is also held [775] ●
to be a safeguard against a visit from one of the *urar*, the spirits of the dead, who are never very far away.

Torches are made by bending the fronds of a dry coco-nut 373
palm leaf towards the distal end, where they are tied in a bundle. They burn for a long time. I am not sure whether any resinous substance is ever put into the bundle, but if so, it is not invariably the case, as I have seen many torches made and burned which had none. Even quite small children make these.

In their handling of fire these people exhibit a degree of casual- 372
ness which frequently caused me, accustomed to the meticulous care exercised by American Indians, no little anxiety. Yet it is remarkable how little damage to person or property occurs through fires. Probably the extreme humidity of the climate is their salvation, but their escape seems to be rather the result of good luck than good judgement.

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789 depend upon what may perhaps be termed the principle of attraction. The explanation given by the natives of the working of the 'medicine' to make a very high tide, is that the sea will be 'pulled up' by the mixture in the coco-nut which you bury above high-water mark. If you spit the chewed root of a certain creeper in the direction of a rain-cloud, it will come up and rain will fall. If you rub the scrapings of a root on the door of your hut, the wife who has left you will have her thoughts turned homewards and will return to you.

An idea underlying other forms of magic, which appears to be somewhat different from any of the foregoing, depends upon the principle of transference. A bundle of leaves is laid on the thigh of a man suffering from the effects of 'poison', a branch is waved over him in a downward direction, and the poison 'goes down into the bundle', which is then thrown away. Some of the methods of counteracting mimetic magic seem to involve transference, as when the effect of the contraceptive is removed by throwing away the root into running water. In some instances there is a near approach to the conception of the 'scape-goat', as in the treatment of the pig at the ceremony for a child of rank described in Chapter V (p. 190). I would suggest that this idea of transference is also implicit in the ritual play which forms part of the marriage ceremony, the first menstruation ceremony, and the ceremony performed when a child of rank is first allowed to be placed on the ground.

The use of talismans and amulets is very general. The bones of a river fish or the dried nest of a bush insect hung from a string round the neck of a baby will make it grow up healthy and strong. Carried somewhere on the person of an adult there will often be found a tiny bundle wrapped up in a leaf. This will probably contain scrapings of roots or leaves, perhaps mixed with lime or paint, and often with the addition of human remnants, such as portions of the skin, nails, or hair of a dead relative, or of an enemy who has been eaten. Often the possessor of such a bundle does not know what it contains, having obtained it, perhaps, from a native of a distant village, as being efficacious against 'poison' or in some other desired direction. These things are all called *eto*.

789 Of all the various substances used in magical procedure, there
● 715 are two which are considered more powerful than all the rest. The
778 most powerful of all is the stuff called *sisina*. The very mention of
823 the word excited a certain amount of emotion in the person speak-

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ing it, even when giving explanations to me apart from any actual ritual occasion. It is obtained from the Hahon people, in exchange for ceremonial currency and other valuables. They are said to get it from a hot spring in the mountains, at a place which belongs to Tosisiup, who lives in the volcano Balbi and has power over all the *urar* (see p. 505 for further account of him). It was only with great difficulty and in exchange for a valuable present that I was able to obtain a small quantity. It proves to be lava which has been attacked by acid vapours after the dying down of volcanic activity.[1]

The power possessed by *sisiwa* is not specific, since it is employed for many purposes. Its use in love magic, in fishing magic, and in a form of black magic has already been noted. It is significant that no formula is ever used in conjunction with this substance. On making careful inquiries as to this, I was told that *sisiwa* is such *strong medicine itself that it does not need any words used with it.* This definitely stated belief goes to show that for these people magic is not an essentially human possession, literally and actually enshrined in man' (Malinowski, 1926 (2), p. 71). The underlying principle here seems rather to approach the conception familiar to anthropologists as *mana*, though I did not come across in these dialects the actual word *mana* or its equivalent. This 'wonder-working power perceived or at most dimly conceived by the savage to exist in whatever excites his awe' (Marett, 1929, p. 14) the *sisiwa* would acquire from its origin in the place belonging to Tosisiup, the ruler of all the *urar*, everything connected with whom is regarded by these natives with awe. This brings it into line with Codrington's statement that 'spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have *mana* and can impart it' (1891, p. 119).

The connexion with the spirit-world, or rather with the place of ghosts, is further emphasized by the fact that the other of these powerful substances, only less mighty than *sisiwa*, is called *magór*. Magor is the name of Tosisiup's brother, who is second only to him in the realm of the dead. The magic mixture contains scraps of bark, roots, and leaves, belonging to various plants, and *oin*, which is red oxide of iron. Unlike *sisiwa*, it may be associated with a form of words, as in the love magic given on p. 122 and the taro magic given on p. 301. But it is sometimes used alone, e.g. in fishing magic, where it may be chewed and spat on to the line. Another of its virtues has not yet been noticed. To make a man

[1] I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Beyzand for this analysis.

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cease to be angry with you, chew *magor* and spit it in his direction, then say to him: 'Why are you and I fighting?' Then he will feel kindly towards you. It is interesting to note that the influence of *magor* is supposed to extend also to white men. When a visit from the District Officer is expected, the villagers of Kurtatchi chew *magor* and spit it around the place to ensure that he will not be angry with them! It will be seen that the power of *magor* is not specific, and I think it is fair to see the idea of *mana* underlying the use of this substance also. These two substances are the most precious possessions these people have, and are regarded as in a class different from, and ranking far above, the ceremonial currency in which they reckon their wealth.

Among the natives of North Bougainville, *mana* seems to belong not so much to the individual who performs the ritual acts as to the substance he uses. There are no persons set apart as 'medicine men' who have qualified for the post by long training or by undergoing ordeals. I am not aware of any word in these dialects which means a maker of magic, except in the case of black magic, which stands in a class by itself. Otherwise the distinction is between those who know the procedure and possess the requisite apparatus and those who do not. Thus, Sobak and Riamē were competent to act as rain-makers, Pinari was the specialist in dog magic, Minka in bonito magic, Pari in the treatment of sprains and broken bones, and so on. But Riamē could not make rain without his coco-nuts, nor Minka bring bonito without his stone fish. Again, in the description of the taro-garden ceremony given in Chapter IX it will be seen from incidents occurring in connexion with the proceedings that it did not greatly matter who actually took the principal part in washing the taro-stalks; the *ēto* was clearly regarded as the factor of primary importance.

There are some other substances which, while not themselves *ēto*, are frequently used as adjuncts in various forms of magical procedure. Among the most important of these is the red powder called *oin* (iron oxide) which, besides being used in personal decoration, as described in Chapter XI, also plays a part in a large number of 'medicines', both for rubbing on externally, and also for swallowing, in conjunction with the appropriate leaves, roots, or whatever it may be. It is to be noted that its virtue does not appear to lie in the fact that it is red, since there are other varieties of red 'paint' (*owan* and *itfu*, see p. 416) which are used for decorative purposes

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only, and not in the preparation of 'medicines', or in any magical procedure.

In this connexion also must be mentioned the multifarious uses of lime (*iav*). Not only is it added to the mixtures used for a number of medicinal and magical purposes, it is also efficacious alone, e.g. it is rubbed on to a man who is *ibwrar* (see p. 516) and on to a patient suffering from a sprain or a broken bone. Instances of its use for magical purposes both with and without areca-nut occur in almost every chapter of this book. Its importance in medicine and magic in San Cristoval is pointed out by Fox (1924, p. 245), who brings evidence to show that betel-chewing is a comparatively recent innovation, and considers that the use of lime for ceremonial purposes must be earlier. He suggests as one possible reason for its being 'considered a good conductor of *mena*', that lime is necessary for the production of dyes and pigments, especially the important red dye. Lime is not used for such a purpose in North Bougainville, so that the reason for its importance in that area must lie elsewhere. That it is considered to have some intimate connexion with the *wwar* is clear from the practice of burning it to propitiate them when it is thought that some cause of offence has been given, e.g. in the act of cleaning the road beside the grave-yard, described on p. 517.

It must be remembered that these spirits of the dead, while they are feared by the living and at the same time regarded as their helpers in time of need, are not propitiated in the ordinary routine of life, but only when it is thought that they may have been angered, or when their help is required for some definite purpose. The most usual method of appeal seems to be to mention by name one or more *wwar* specially appropriate to the occasion; at the taro garden those who were good gardeners, successful fishermen to ensure a good catch, and so on. Having been called upon by name, they may also be told what is desired of them in specific terms: 'Butchiar, look at that woman, bring her to me, I want her', 'Pulaget, Soat, Tsining, look at our rod and catch bonito for us', 'Sawē, Malia, Kerep, look at this broken bone and fasten it'. Again, the name of the *wwar* may be used without any injunction. In a treatment for strained muscle, which I witnessed, the name of the *wwar* Pispoa (the spirit of a man who, when he was alive, was skilled in treating similar cases) was whispered repeatedly into a lime-pot held by the operator. I was told that Pispoa then came and stayed inside the

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775 755 lime-pot, making the lime powerful. Lime from this pot was then used in massaging the patient.

775 782 The question now arises, are the *urar* thus addressed being cajoled into conferring a favour, or commanded to perform a task which they cannot refuse? This has been suggested as a criterion separating religion from magic (Rivers, 1914, vol. ii, p. 405). It is true that most of the formulae are couched in the imperative. But the [781] reverent tone in which they were spoken, in cases where I actually saw the ritual performed (less evident where it is merely related), leaves me in no doubt that it is a plea, not a command, which is intended. This is supported by the fact that the address to the *urar* is sometimes preceded by an offering of food burnt in the fire for them, or some bit of ritual involving lime. It is also consonant [781] with the general attitude of awe, largely mingled with terror, which characterizes the relations between human beings and the *urar* throughout. (See Chapter XIV.)

789 In some cases formulae are used in which the *urar* do not figure. These may take the form of a direct command: 'Come, bonito, come plenty, come to my village', 'Garfish, garfish, come and take hold of my line'. Or the command may be given to the apparatus to do its work: 'Catch them, catch them', said to the bonito hook, or 'Fetch the man here', to the medicine used in war magic. Again, the formula may be a simple asseveration that what is required will, or has, come to pass: 'You and I spit on the taro, now it is large', 'All the women are waiting with their baskets, to-morrow the place will be full of *tsuwaluy*'.

In all cases where formulae are used, they are kept secret. In some, notably those used in bonito magic, it was stated that the words must be passed on only to a son or a sister's son, in others they might be told to any one, provided payment were made. I have instances in my collection of such knowledge having been obtained from father, mother, mother's brother, and grandparents, as well as from strangers. Love magic is often referred to the people of the [609] mountains; this is interesting, as the relations between the mountain people and the coastal people are not normally friendly.

This brings us to the consideration of the place of these formulae in the native scheme of magico-religious procedure. It will have been noticed that in many cases no mention is made of any words being spoken. It may be that in some of these, the secret part of the procedure was either intentionally or inadvertently

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On the present occasion the mother, a very old woman, had

body smeared with black paint, which was also matted into thick blobs in her hair. The widow showed none of these traditional signs of mourning, contrary to the old custom, which prescribed that the widow must put ashes on her hair and skin and must have her arms and legs rubbed with the skin of a banana which has been dipped in a mixture of red ochre and coco-nut oil. This she had to retain all the time she remained in the house. She may not eat whatever food was last eaten by her husband previous to his death. In the olden days, at the end of the period of mourning she would have become the wife of his brother, but this practice has been given up in deference to the wishes of the missionary, who encourages, while not enforcing, monogamy. It is now becoming customary for a widow not to marry again, but if a man loses his wife he usually takes another.

765 302 178 [587 797]

Fate of the soul

I was told by one of the principal men of the village that in the olden times they thought the spirit (*abiap* in the Petats dialect, equivalent to the Kurtatchi *abin*, not to *urar* which is represented by *amat*) of the dead man came out of the hole where he was buried and came back and stayed in his house, so they destroyed the house and by this means destroyed the *abiap*. The dead man's coco-nut palms and other property were also destroyed. Now the mission has taught them to believe that the *abiap* 'goes up on top' and does not come back.

775 768 [797]

It is thought that the *abiap* goes about looking for the person who had poisoned him. When it has found him it tells him: 'You poisoned me, you will die soon.' Soon after the man dies, and the people know it was he who poisoned the other man. This belief appears to be held still, though it is no longer customary, as in the olden days, to put a piece of bamboo through the wall of the house and question it as to who was responsible for the death. It was supposed to move about and thus to indicate the answer. They say it does not work at Petats any more, but assert that it still acts at Lontis.

775 761 178

Disposal of the dead man's possessions

In the case of Tairisia, his pigs had been eaten by his relatives during his illness, at his own request. No further destruction of

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765 set up a tree with plenty of branches on it in the middle of the place called *wanib*, and hang up the belts on it.

Some additional details concerning the women's first visit to the taro garden after their seclusion were given me in the course of an account by another informant, an old man, at a later date. The widow plants a taro stalk, another woman takes it out again and lays it on the ground, then another woman plants it again, and this goes on till all the women in the village have had their turn. [778] Then the women stick up a tree in the taro garden and hang ornamental and aromatic leaves on it; the widow, as she hangs each spray, calls out the names of all her relatives who are dead, saying: 'My mother, I put this *nibnib* (ornamental plant) for you', 'My father, I put this *nibnib* for you', and similarly for her brother, her sister, her child, her *waris*, if they are dead.

[565] Then one man who is *tsunaun* makes a fire and calls the names of all the *urar*, who have died before. He puts taro, coco-nuts, and areca-nuts on the fire, the fire burns them up. Then the men start working on the taro garden, clearing away the rubbish, and the women plant.[1] While they are working they must not eat. If they were to do so, the *urar* would fight them and make them mad. They all put lime in front of their ears. They take down the belts from the tree where they have been hanging and put them on again. Then, if the fire has been made and the food burnt, they may eat a little in the *wanib*.

765 824 565 Then a *ta'un* plant (a species of cordyline) is planted in the *wanib*. Every one goes off and hides just outside the taro garden. The *ta'un* plant stands up on the edge of the taro garden. Then a man who is *tsunaun* calls out the name of the man who has died. The wild spirits of the bush answer the first time, the man calls out twice more, then the dead man's own spirit (*abin*) comes howling. The *tsunaun* calls out: 'You come, let us go to the village, all the people have gone.' They all look at the *ta'un*; if it bends over, the man's spirit (*abin*) is sitting on it.[2] If it does not bend, the

765 775 824

[1] As explained in Chapter I, taro can be planted at any time of the year.

[2] Compare with this the procedure employed to know whether a man gravely ill will die or will recover. 'Take the root of the plant *markŏt* and give some to the sick man to eat. Take also a small branch of the same plant and hold it upright near him. If he is to die his *abin* will come and sit on top of the branch and it will bend over, if he will live it will stay straight.' This procedure was taught to Tchiriv by the *urar* at a time when he was *iburar*. They also taught it to another man who is now dead.

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765 man's spirit is ashamed. In that case the *ta'un* plant is pulled up
775 and thrown away. But if it bends it is taken up and put on to a
824 man's shoulders. If it is a woman who has died her hood is put on the top of the plant, on the man's shoulders. It is felt by the man carrying it to be heavy. When he gets tired he calls out and another man takes it from him. Perhaps it will suddenly cease to be heavy. This means that the spirit has gone to relieve himself. Then the man carrying it stands still and waits till he feels it to be heavy again, then he calls out and they all go on again.

When they get back to the village they all go into their own houses and fasten the doors and remain silent. The man carrying the *ta'un* goes straight to the front of the dead person's house and enters it and plants the *ta'un* inside the house. Then the dead person's spirit stays inside the house.

765 From this time until the ceremony for the removal of the belts,
515 all the people of the village must refrain from washing themselves,
302 from cutting their hair, and from the use of red paint on their heads and bodies. This applies to children as well as to adults.

765 On the following day, all the men and women who wear the belts go and wash their legs in the sea. They take a tree with many branches and set it up on the shore, fixing it in the sand. Then the women go and search for shell-fish on the reef, wailing the wail for the dead the while. They must catch a large quantity of shell-fish. The men sit down on the beach, or they may, if they like, go and catch fish with nets.

When enough shell-fish have been collected they make a fire on the beach, and make it flare up. They call upon the *urar*, and say: '*Tamu sen en ia, so bai'i gag, ner wopots no in ta tamu.*' ('Here is your taro, eat it, then the children can drink, and will grow strong because of the taro.') Then some taro is put on the fire. They all take their lime-pots with lime in them, and walk round the fire holding them in their hands, then they tap on the lime-pots, take out some lime, and put it in their ears. The belts are now taken down from the branches of the tree and put on again. The shell-fish are put into baskets and the women take them back to the village and cook them. The women eat the shell-fish at the back [264] verandah. If the men have caught any fish they cook it for themselves at the front verandah. If they have plenty they send some to the women, if they have none the women send them some shell-fish.

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If a boy wearing the *upi* enters a hut in which a woman lives. Present punishment, some one will 'make poison' so that he will die, and no one will know who did it. 266 689

If a woman sees the *amro* carrying food to the novices during their seclusion in the bush prior to the first puberty ceremony (see p. 201). Present punishment, all the *amro* and all the *kwigin* have sexual intercourse with her. 266 688

Cannibalism is now prohibited under the jurisdiction of the white man, and no longer takes place, even in secret, I believe, among the coastal people. How long it is since the last person was eaten it was impossible to ascertain; most of the older men in the village of Kurtatchi confessed—or perhaps I should say boasted—that they had eaten man, with what truth I cannot say. None of the younger or middle-aged men claimed to have done so. I was told that the practice is still carried on by the people of the mountainous interior of Bougainville, and as these have not yet, in some areas, come under white supervision, it may well be that this is the case. 266 177

THE PLACE OF THE *URAR*

This account of the after-world was obtained from Sobak, an elderly man. The details have all been subsequently corroborated in accounts given by other individuals, or in the course of discussions arising out of certain myths and stories. 775

The place where people go when they die is ruled over by two brothers, named Tosisiup and Magor. Tosisiup is big, Magor is little. The home of both is the volcano called Tupa'i.[1] Tosisiup lives at the top. When he likes he makes fire come out of it. Magor lives under it. When he turns himself there is an earthquake. Tosisiup tells him to stop making the ground shake, because he is sorry for all the people who fall down. [823]

All the people who die go to the volcano. When a man is going to die, fire comes up out of it. Magor prepares food for him and puts fire in the food. He cooks taro to give to the man who dies. The man goes and sits down in front of Tosisiup. Magor asks him: 'What are you doing?' 'I am dead. Somebody has made poison for me.' Tosisiup says: 'Don't you know who it was? I

[1] This is the active volcano in the northern half of Bougainville, which appears on the map as Balbi. It is not the same as the volcano which figures in the beliefs of the Buin of South Bougainville, called Bareka or Bagano (cf. Wheeler, 1914, p. 103, &c.). [133]

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[775] know the man who made poison for you; when he comes here I will put him in the fire; I will go and look for him.' So Tosisiup lies in wait for the man who caused the death.

The dead man is taken by Magor and told to climb up an areca-palm. While he is up in the tree Magor cuts a hole in his buttocks and fastens a tail on to him, a long tail, just like a dog's. Then he takes a spear and pierces the man's eyes, presently they become just like fire. Then gradually, as his body decays, he becomes an *urar*. The change is not complete until his bones stink. After this he lives in the place belonging to Magor.

Everybody, when he dies, becomes an *urar*. When pigs and dogs[1] and fowls die, they also go to the place of Tosisiup and Magor. But they cannot talk, they just stay there.

One of the young men made a drawing to explain to me what the dead person looked like while he was undergoing the change into an *urar* (Fig. 29). He explained that the one on the right had only recently died and his body had not yet decayed. The claw-like things he said were the man's 'water' that had come down (possibly this may refer to the fluids exuded during decomposition). [764] The fourth, which is drawn as though sitting on the head of the third, is wearing the cocks' feathers with which the head of a dead person is sometimes adorned before burial.

Information obtained on the island of Tiop, NE. Bougainville

During a brief visit to the island of Tiop, at the extreme north-eastern corner of Bougainville, I obtained a little information from one of the old men, which is subjoined for the sake both of its similarities and of its differences.

The place of all the *orar* (= Kurtatchi *urar*) is called Tatau'ora. When a man dies he goes to it. It is near Mapiri, past Arigua (two places farther down the east coast). It is inside the thick bush, at a place where there is a hole where there is white paint (*kerewo*). The name of the hole is Namakerewo. When a man dies he goes first to Namakerewo and is painted with white paint. The men of Namakerewo go and catch some fish (*biri*) that are black, and have a strong smell. They put them in a pot and cook them, and take

[231 766] [1] These are the only domestic animals known to the natives. Wild animals and birds were not mentioned in this connexion. When a favourite dog dies it is buried with loin-cloths and a feast is made for it. I knew of a dog, killed by a wild pig, for which this was done. But pigs are always eaten; even when they die of disease!

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the water they were cooked in and wash the man all over. Then they put out his eyes with a stick. The dead man climbs a tree, and jumps off it into the sea, then he goes back to the place where he died. The people cannot see him, he can call out for food, that's all. They put some food for him into the fire. He stops for some time, rather a long time. All the time he stays his relatives must

FIG. 29. Young man's drawing representing men who are dead and have become *urar*. Their legs have rotted away. The claw-like objects represent their 'water that has come down'. The one on the right has not long been dead and his body has not decayed yet.

not wash themselves, they must not eat taro, they must not eat the last food he ate before he died, if he was smoking just before he died they must not smoke. His wife must stop inside the house, she must not work. She makes belts for everybody, enough for all to wear.

All the women put on these belts and do a dance. The near relatives of the dead man wail. They go to the place where the man is buried and make a fire on the top of his grave; they bring fish and taro and put them in the fire. Some lime is put in also; then they march round the fire. They all put lime in their ears. After this they may wash, and eat taro, all except the mother and father and wife of the dead man, they must keep the taboos strictly for a long time yet, they must not comb their hair nor clean their

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765 bodies. After about three or four months more they make a feast and invite all the people from every village. They play the Pan-pipes. After that they can comb their hair and make their skin clean, all the taboos are finished. The man's spirit does not stop [775] in the place any more, it goes to Tatau'ora and stays there, and the people do not think about him any more.

Characteristics and powers of the urar

(These details were obtained from various informants at different times, all of them more than once.)

775 The *urar* are usually invisible to men, but they can make themselves visible when they like. They can also talk to men, but for [823] this they need lime. If they have no lime they cannot talk. They can talk without being visible. They can also whistle, and they have a cry like that of a bird, which is heard in the bush at night. They can transform themselves into various animals and birds, or take the shapes of trees, stones, and other natural objects.[1] When thus disguised they are visible to men in their assumed forms, but they have no power of speech.

Men sometimes meet and talk with *urar* thinking they are human beings, but suddenly recognize them for what they are 'because their eyes are light'. Animals sense the presence of *urar* when they are invisible to men. If they go near a village 'the fowls cry out, the pigs cry out, the dogs cry out'.

The *urar* are represented as eating excrement. Some like to eat human beings, and will trick them into getting lost in the bush or otherwise catch them alone, and take them to their own place and eat them.

Otherwise, they are thought to live much the same kind of lives in the place of the *urar* as they did when they were alive. They retain their individual characteristics of sex and age, they eat, sleep, practise sexual intercourse (with humans also, according to the stories), and hold feasts and dances. Living persons who penetrate into their abode are discovered by their smell, and are either made captive and eaten, or, if befriended by some of the *urar*, are hidden from the rest and sent home until such time as they die. A number of stories in my collection deal with episodes of this kind, and though these *wasisio* are supposed to deal with the past, such inci-

[1] This matter is discussed in detail in Chapter XV, pp. 322–31.

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dents were also said to occur in the present, and are taken literally by all.[1] The following are given as typical. 775 ●

A Child visits the Urar[2]

(There was) a little child, his mother died. The child was very small, he could just walk. The men went to bury his mother, the child stayed behind. Then he followed the men who were carrying his mother. He went, he went, he went, he went, he came to the place belonging to the *urar*. He stopped at the edge of the water, he sat down. He saw a stretch of sand, it was quite clear. He made a hole in the sand, big enough for himself. He went inside, he hid in the hole. He took some leaves, the leaves of the wild banana that grows in the bush, and covered up his head in the hole. But he did not cover up his eyes. 775 539

Then he looked, and saw a line of *urar* coming. First there were all the little *urar*. They washed in the water, they went back. Then came a line of *urar* who were a little bigger, they washed in the water, they went back. The child did not see his mother among them. Then came a line of young women, their breasts were firm. They washed, they went back. Then there came another line, each of them carried one child. They were finished, then came a line carrying two children. They came and washed, they went back. Then came the line to which belonged the mother of the little child. The child recognized his mother in the line. He wanted his mother to leave the line. They went back, his mother was behind them. Her eyes could not see very well yet. (The teller here explained that this was because she had not been dead long, her eyes had not finished changing into the eyes of an *urar*.) She came on, the child ran and took hold of his mother's hand. His mother asked him: 'What have you come for?' 'Oh, I am so sad about you, mamma.' 'No, you go back now, you go and die, then you will be the same as I am.' The child begged: 'It would be much better if I came with you.' The mother said: 'If you come with me now, what will you eat?' 'I will eat the same food as you eat.' 'No, you can't eat the same food as I eat, the food here is another kind of food.' The child begged and begged: 'I don't mind if the food is no good.' The mother said: 'All of us here eat faeces.'

They both went now, to the place belonging to the *urar*. The child went with his mother. His mother did not show him to all the *urar*, she hid him well. They went, they stayed in the house. Night came. A line of *urar* went off to wash, another line of little ones went to sleep. All their bones went cr-r-r-r-r-rack. The child asked: 'Mamma, what is that

[1] These beliefs may perhaps have some connexion with the occurrence of dreams such as those discussed in Chapter XVI, pp. 553 ff.

[2] This story appears in my paper in *Folk-lore*, March 1932. I am indebted to the Editor for permission to reprint it.

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noise?' His mother was angry. She said: 'Oh, you mustn't ask that, that is the way we do in this place, you can't do it.' Another line of *urar*, a little bigger, came, they lay down, their bones went cr-r-r-r-r-rack. Another line lay down, their bones went cr-r-r-r-r-rack. The child's mother wanted to go to sleep, the child lay down and put his head in her lap. The mother tried to send the child to sleep first. The child slept. The mother went to sleep, her skin came off, the child was lying against her bones. The child was cold in the night, he thought the light in his mother's eye was fire. He seized hold of his mother's eye. His mother said: 'What are you doing to my eye?' 'I thought it was a fire.' 'This place has no fire.' Then the mother said: 'To-morrow I shall take you home.'

Dawn broke. The mother hid the child. The people of the (real) village went to work, there was no one left in the village. The child's mother watched the people go, she hid. When they had all gone she brought the child to the village. The child ate some taro. He said: 'Why don't you eat some taro?' 'I am not the same as I was before, I am different now.' Then the mother went back. The child cried. 'Oh, let me come with you.' His mother said: 'No, you can't come with me You must die first, you go back now. You can't come now because you are still alive.' Then his mother went away. The child sat down in the house and cried: 'Oh! Oh! my mother has gone away.' His mother went back to the place of all the *urar*, the next day the child died.

A Woman is turned into an Urar

A woman was angry. She fought with her mother. She was angry with her mother because she wanted to get a husband; her mother did not get one for her. The woman took some beads and fastened them round her legs, and round her arms. She went to the beach. She went across a big piece of water. She got a stone, she called the stone her child. She went and found another stone, she threw away the stone she found first, and carried the other stone. She came to another piece of water. Some men came and found her. They asked her: 'Where are you going?' 'I am going for a walk.' She went on again and came to another line of men, they asked her: 'Where are you going?' She answered them the same way, 'I am going for a walk.' All the young men came behind, they came and found her, they deceived her: 'We are all real men, you come with us.' She smelt them all, they smelt just like dead men. They pulled her, they went to the place where the fire smokes, on top of the mountain belonging to the *urar*. They made her sit down among some plants, they brought spears, they wanted to shoot the woman. She heard them and ran away back to her own place.

All the *urar* looked for her everywhere, the woman had gone away.

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Then all the *urar* cried. Night came. The *urar* who had caught her in the day came and pulled her back. They made her lie down. They put a hood over her, she was cold. She got up. She thought that the eyes of the *urar* were fire. She wanted to get some fire, she took the eyes of the *urar*. One *urar* got up very angry: 'Who has taken my eyes?' The woman said: 'I did, I am cold.' The *urar* said to the woman: 'These men are not fire, it is no good for you to take them.'

Then they all prepared food, they put paint on the woman, two kinds of paint on her head, red and black, and cock's feathers. All the *urar* made a *kōma*, they played the pipes, they all looked at her, they were glad about the woman. Some of the *urar* asked: 'Where did you get this woman you have brought?' They all played the pipes, they made the woman *kōma* with them, they hid her again in the house, they went and fetched taro stalks.

Dawn broke; then they made her sit down among the taro stalks, then they pierced her eyes, they changed her eyes entirely. Then they brought her to Tosisiup, the chief of them all. He asked her: 'What are you doing?' The woman said: 'I hid, and three of your men liked me, and they brought me here.' He asked her: 'What are the names of these three men?' 'No, I don't know their names.' Then the three men came up. They said: 'We brought her, she was angry.' Tosisiup said: 'All right, you send her along with me.' Then he took her away and cut her buttocks, he put a tail on her buttocks, then she became an *urar*.

Discussion

Since the funerary rites are somewhat complicated, a synopsis of the most important parts of them is given below in tabular form emphasizing the differences between the ceremonies as performed for *tsunaun*, and those for commoners.

Tsunaun	*Commoners*
At death.	***At death.***
Wailing by the whole village. Fire lighted in house and lime burnt. Body kept in house on planks under the roof for 5 or 6 days. Wailing kept up all this time, with the help of people from other villages, for whom pigs, &c., are provided.	Wailing by relatives only. Fire lighted and lime burnt. Kept in house for a day or two only, not placed under the roof. Only friends and relatives from other villages attend, if they wish.
Special dance by women at night.	No dance.

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Tsunaun	*Commoners*
On 6th or 7th day.	*After short interval.*
Body taken out to sea, weighted with stones and thrown in. (Burial substituted later.)	Might be thrown into sea, but was usually buried.
Seclusion of widow for 8 or 10 months. Belts made for all the people of the village.	Seclusion of widow for 2 or 3 months. Belts made for relatives only.
At end of period of seclusion.	*At end of period of seclusion.*
Ceremonial visit of widow to taro garden. Procession to house with spirit of dead man sitting on cordyline plant. Spirit remains in house. Certain restrictions on all the people of the village.	As for people of rank, but restrictions apply to relatives only.
Next day.	*Next day.*
Ceremonial visit to shore. End of seclusion for widow.	Ceremonial visit to shore. End of seclusion for widow.
Some time later (unspecified).	*Later.*
Final feast, removal of belts. Taboos finish.	Final feast, removal of belts. Taboos finish.
Some years later.	*Some years later.*
Burial of pillow, with important feast.	Burial of pillow, with feast.

It does not seem to have been the custom at any time to reserve sea-burial for persons of *tsunaun* lineage exclusively. It might also be accorded to commoners, who, however, seem to have been more usually buried in the ground. As far as I could learn, the choice rested with the relatives, sea-burial being regarded as the better method. My informants could give no reason for this; possibly one might suggest that, since digging a shallow hole (such as serves for a grave nowadays) is less trouble than paddling a canoe a long way out to sea, the choice in the case of a commoner depended upon the amount of trouble the relatives were prepared to take over the matter.

The difference between the treatment accorded to *tsunaun* and to commoners is one of degree rather than of kind. Shorter and simpler mourning, fewer mourners, less food, distinguish the

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funeral of a commoner. In essentials the two are identical. Consistently with this, I have no evidence that there is considered to be any difference in the treatment of the two classes in the afterworld. Magor and Tosisiup are looked upon as the rulers of the land of the dead, but they are not connected in any way with the *tsunaun* of actual life, and among the *urar* under their jurisdiction there appears to be no distinction of persons.

Again, no stress seems to be laid on a distinction between the good and the bad, as regards either the character of their lives or the form of their deaths. I found nothing resembling the 'good' and 'bad' deaths which are reported from other areas. (Cf. Moss, 1925, p. 123, &c.) The only evidence of anything in the nature of an 'ethical' distinction is the remark attributed to Tosisiup that he would 'put in the fire' the men who made poison causing another man to die. The possibility of mission influence cannot be entirely excluded here, for though my informant was one of the older men, he was accustomed to attend the mission teacher's services, and the doctrine of punishment by fire seemed to make a special appeal to the natives, including the teacher concerned.[1]

The first part of the funerary rites seems to be directed towards keeping in touch with the spirit, the second part, from the time of the removal of the belts onwards, towards getting rid of it. The retention of the body as long as possible, the wearing of the belts, which must not have the dirt washed off them, the bringing home of the cordyline plant on which the spirit is supposed to be sitting, all point in the one direction. The removal and destruction of the belts, the lifting of all the taboos, and the fact that the widow is then free to marry again, all point in the other. There would appear to be some connexion between this difference in behaviour and the belief that the dead man takes some time to undergo the change into an *urar*. There seem to be some grounds for the suggestion that the solicitude of his relatives for him during this period may be intended to ease the transition. For example, he is provided with the food to which he is accustomed, because he has not yet learnt to eat the food of the *urar*.

Throughout the description of the funerary rites, the spirit of the dead person is never referred to as *urar*, but always as *abin*, a

[1] One of the women, who was my especial friend, was always urging me to come to the services, on the ground that, if I did not, when I died I would be 'put in the big fire'.

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775 word which is also used for a person's shadow, his reflection in water or in a mirror, and for that part of him which leaves his body while he sleeps (cf. p. 546). The distinction is clearly seen in a sentence from a story in my collection. A child is scalded and dies, whereupon *urar poa to wāriuŋon abin i bai'i to biom*, 'an *urar* heard the child's spirit crying'. Once the change is complete, he can fend for himself, and from being the object of sorrowful remembrance, he becomes, as an *urar*, both powerful and terrible. As regards the retention of his pillow for a much longer period, may it, perhaps, be due to a desire to make quite sure that he has really fully completed the change before the last link with him as a living person is removed from the house? I could not obtain from the natives any explanation of their treatment of the pillow, so that this is mere theorizing.[1]

764 775 It is clear that the rapid decay of the body is considered to be undesirable. The reason why those who touch it must refrain from food is that if they eat the body will 'stink quickly'. The reason given for piercing the nasal septum is that if this is done, when the person dies the worms will go through this hole instead of eating the body. It might be argued either that the preservation is desired for the purpose of keeping the dead in touch with the living,[2] or to ease his transformation into an *urar* by slowing it up, or, as my informants (possibly by a process of rationalization) appeared to think, to lessen the discomfort of the living, who had to watch by the body for the specified period in any case.

As regards the weapons, paint, and other things thrown into the sea with the body, or buried in its grave, I can offer no evidence either for or against the theory that they are intended for the dead man's use. It is true that the *urar* are represented as possessing and using such things, but no reference was made by any of my informants to a belief that the dead man was well or poorly provided for in the place of the *urar* according to the richness or otherwise of the property destroyed at his funeral. At Petats they definitely said that the man's house was destroyed so that his spirit should not return to it, which seems to be opposed to the beliefs and practices current on Bougainville. In the case of a *tsunaun* the

[1] The dead may, however, become *urar* with full powers before the disposal of the pillow takes place, because the pillow belonging to Pinari's mother, Buntagori, whom he named at the taro-planting ceremony, was still preserved in his sister's hut.

[2] Cf. C. H. Wedgwood, 1927, p. 387.

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pigs, taro, and coco-nuts belonging to the dead man are used to provide food for the mourners from other villages. It is understood that to provide inadequately would be a grave insult, but that is the case at any ceremony to which visitors come from a distance, and while the quantity required would be in proportion to the importance of the deceased, this is only because the number of mourners would be proportionately large. Neither the quantity nor the display are regarded as being of benefit to the dead man on his arrival at the place of the *urar*.

Relations between the urar *and the living*

One other aspect of the subject dealt with in this chapter remains to be discussed in connexion with the people of my own particular area, namely, the very definite part which the *urar* play in the life of the present-day natives. It will be clear from other portions of this book that they are never for long unmindful of the existence of the *urar* and that this influences in no small degree their daily thoughts and actions.

The *urar* are not necessarily maleficent. As has been shown in the account of taro-planting, hunting, and fishing, &c., part of the magical procedure connected with all of these consists of calling by name upon the *urar* of people who had been especially successful in these occupations during their lifetime.

But for the most part they are regarded with dread, as powerful enemies who will, if they can, do harm to the living and even cause death. It is largely this fear that makes every one so chary of being in the bush alone, especially at night. There are a number of preparations of roots and leaves which are to be chewed, or in some cases carried, by any one obliged to be out after dark, for the purpose of keeping the *urar* away. The same fear leads them to desert a village in which several people have died, even though they may only move a short distance.

An incident which took place at Kurtatchi after the death of Maravin is interesting both in this connexion and for its bearing on the belief that a dead man does not become an *urar* immediately. Being without female relatives, Maravin had shared his hut with some of the boys wearing the *upi*, their own *tobar* not having been moved from the old village. They slept in the hut the night of the day of which he died, apparently without qualms, but after about three weeks they began to be restless, and a few days later they ran

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775 about shouting that they were afraid of Maravin's *urar* which was chasing them. They refused to sleep in the hut that night, and crowded in with the boys in the other *tobar*. Next day they set energetically about finishing their own, the building of which had been in progress, in a very desultory fashion, for some time.

Hysterical dissociation

158 The *urar* are, in the native mind, held responsible for a mode of
775 behaviour which is classified by psychologists as a form of dissocia-
828 tion. The affected individual rushes about the place, often brandishing a knife or an axe, shouting quite unintelligibly, and threatening any person who crosses his line of vision. Although no one was actually hurt in the cases which came under my personal observation, the natives told me that physical injury is occasionally inflicted by persons in this condition, and that people have even been killed by them. Generally, however, the damage is confined to property. A man in this state is said to be *iburar* (struck by the spirits).

158 Five cases occurred in the village of Kurtatchi (with a population of about 130) during the nine months of my stay. Three of them followed each other rapidly, all three occurring within ten days; the fourth and fifth, with two months between them, took place after a lapse of some months. Although an individual explanation was given for two out of the three occurring in sequence, it may be that suggestibility played its part so that the behaviour of one was not without its effect on the others, but this is mere surmise. All the affected persons were men, one a *tsunaun*, the others commoners. Unfortunately, I can find nothing in my notes to indicate whether women are also liable to these attacks. As the condition is of some psychological interest, it may be worth while to describe these episodes in some detail. Two occurred at night, three in the day-time.

158 My first acquaintance with this phenomenon was made on one
775 occasion when I had strolled over casually to visit a neighbour, and
828 found a man named Sinke, who lived in another part of the village, lying on the ground behind the hut, naked, talking and gesticulating excitedly. Several people were sitting round, looking at him but taking no action. They called out to him that I was coming, but instead of covering himself with his loin-cloth as he would have done in the ordinary way, he swore volubly, and remained as

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he was. One of the other men excused his behaviour to me, saying that an *urar* had got him. When he saw me he called out to me that an *urar* was inside him. The attack appeared to be passing off, for he added, in a more rational tone, that to-morrow he would tell me what the *urar* had done to him, at the same time pulling his loin-cloth over his body. Next day he came to me looking very ill, and asked for medicine, saying he had a headache. I gave him some aspirin and questioned him about the occurrence of the day before, but he said he could remember nothing about it. My servant said that was what always happened to people who were seized by *urar*, and that the headache was the usual sequel.

The second incident happened a few days later. Late one evening the village was in a state of great commotion, with much shouting and scurrying about and barking of dogs. Several men rushed up on to my verandah and shut themselves in the room, adjacent to my own part of the house, occupied by my servant. They said Pinari (the *tsunaun*) was *iburar* and was chasing them all. Shortly afterwards he came tearing past the fence, howling in a weird fashion, and threw something, which fell with a crash. Presently a boy came and said that Pinari had been found lying across his brother's grave in the old graveyard, and taken home, and that they thought he would be all right.

When I asked after Pinari next morning his wife said he was very ill. In the afternoon she came to beg some biscuits for him, 'because his mouth could not eat taro'. I visited him on the afternoon of the following day. He seemed pleased to see me but talked quite incoherently, chiefly about 'poisoning'. I could make nothing of any of it. Next day he seemed much better, and gave me an account of what had happened. He said he had been cleaning the road near the old graveyard, and had omitted the usual ceremony of blowing lime over the road to send away the *urar*, because the priest had forbidden it. The *urar* were angry with him and made him mad. He went to church, and on his way back he saw an *urar*. It was one of his brothers. It was standing beside the banana palm that grows near his house. Then he went mad and fought every one. Then he went to the graveyard and saw his brothers and his mother, and one brother seized him by the back of the neck and another by the legs. They were angry because he had not blown lime for them or given them food. His mother cried over him, so they let him go and he ran and ran and ran and came to Tarongen (this is a hamlet

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158 some five miles away, he had not had time to go there in reality before he was caught), and then he came back and took the road 775 to the old village (in which the brothers had died) and one of the 828 *urar* told him to come along with them. Then his son came and took his arm and told him he must not run after people, and brought him back to his own house, and he went to sleep. Since then his back and his legs had been hurting him. He looked terribly thin and worn, like a person recovering after a long illness.

The third case, which followed seven days after the one just described, was that of Tchiriv, a young man aged about twenty-five. He was lying on the front verandah of one of the huts, during a dance, when he suddenly jumped up and ran about shouting and throwing in all directions the pile of logs which were kept under the verandah for use as firewood. The people all ran away and shut themselves into their houses. He seized hold of a big *mabu* (musical instrument made of a hollowed log with a mouthpiece of coco-nut, an article of value) belonging to a neighbour, and smashed it all to pieces. Presently four of the younger men rushed up to him together, and seized him, and brought him, kicking and [755] struggling, to a bench outside one of the huts, where they held him down, screaming, while another man blew powdered lime over him.[1] Presently he quietened down and was put to bed in his hut. The next day he remained indoors, and they said he was sick. Matarē said he didn't know that he had broken Togen's *mabu*; when they told him he would be very sorry and would pay for it. [788 Matarē told me that Tchiriv said he had been to the graveyard to 177] get some coco-nuts from the trees there, and because the priest had forbidden it, he did not make a fire and burn some taro for the *urar*, so that they should not be angry with him for taking coco-nuts from their ground. So the *urar* were angry with him and made him mad. I did not see him at all that day until the evening, when he came out of the hut, which was very near to my house, and walked past my fence with his eyes turned away. I took no notice of him at that time, but next day when I found him standing by the fence, looking sheepish, I made a friendly remark to him. He seemed startled, but soon after came up on to my verandah and

[824] [1] There is also a plant, called *pinē*, the leaves of which, if chewed with the betel-mixture and spat on to the head of the affected person, will cause the *urar* to leave him.

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seemed to be himself again, but he did not want to talk about his experience. The villagers said he had these attacks more often than other people.

It is perhaps relevant to mention here that some weeks later the same man, when talking to me about love magic, told me that he had an *urar* that belonged to him particularly. His name was Butchiar, and he showed him the magic in a dream. He said that when he wanted to know anything, such as what 'medicine' to use in a given case, he asked Butchiar, who told him. Tchiriv had no particular reputation as a magician among the villagers, and no one seemed to take either him or Butchiar very seriously, but once when they began calling a young man whom I knew as Kakari by the name of Bori, I asked the reason for the change, and Kakari said that Tchiriv had given him the new name, saying that Butchiar had told him to do so.

The fourth case, which took place some three months later, was that of Minka, a middle-aged man, who rushed round the village throwing logs about. He said afterwards that Maravin's *urar*[1] made him mad, because it was angry about Maravin's grandson, and told Minka that the boy, Kiram, was not getting enough to eat. While he was alive he always looked after him. A young man who heard Minka telling me this said that there were several houses where the boy was given food, and that the *urar* had lied!

The fifth case, Togen, also a middle-aged man, occurred two months after the fourth. It so happened that I was away from the village all day, so I did not see the man during the attack, which was reported to have been a mild one. When I questioned him later, he could give me no information about it whatever.

While talking over with me the episode in which Pinari had figured, my servant said that if he wished he could call the spirit (*aswat*) of one of the important men belonging to his family to come and stop inside him, then if he were angry with a man he could send the spirit to kill that man. As long as he was kind to the spirit and gave it food it would not make him mad. Every time he ate he would have to put some food up in the rafters of the house in a special place. If he did not the spirit would be angry and make him mad and he would go about chasing people. He was very serious throughout the talk and ended by saying: 'This is really true about the Kanakas (the name used by the natives for themselves when

[1] Maravin is the old man who had died (on May 10, see pp. 484, 515.)

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talking to white people, and by the white people for them) but the white men say it is nonsense.'

I was also told about a man named Tatsinan, living at the village of Tendu, who has a little house where he sleeps with the *urar* and feeds them and gives them areca-nut. No one but himself may go into it. The *urar* come to him there and talk with him.

Discussion

The occurrence among Papuans and Melanesians of states of hysterical dissociation has been discussed by Seligman (1929, p. 199 and Huxley Lecture, 1932, p. 227, &c.). In the instances quoted by him, while 'there is wild excitement and threats of assault on all and sundry', no serious injury was done, and for this among other reasons he differentiates these outbreaks from the far more serious condition known among the Malays as *amok*. The only evidence I can supply on this aspect of the question is the statement of the natives that men were sometimes injured or killed by persons who were *iburar*. It is possible, of course, that such injuries may have been received, as in a case quoted by Seligman, 'in the struggle to restrain the patient'. This seems to be the same condition as that described in the papers above referred to, and in a more severe form by Fortune (1932, pp. 54–5) who relates it to the Malay *amok*. In this I think he may be mistaken, for I doubt whether these individuals can strictly be described as 'out to kill' in the sense that this phrase could be applied to the *amok*-running Malay.

A similar condition is described by Ivens (1927, pp. 191 ff.) among the Melanesians of the SE. Solomons. But I never heard of people in this state, in the villages known to me, being employed as professionals 'to ascertain the cause of sickness', or for any other reason. In my experience they were regarded by their fellow villagers as mad, and no notice whatever was taken of anything they said—which was generally unintelligible.

I did not meet with any instance of compulsory imitative actions such as are described by Clifford in Malays afflicted with *lâtah* (*Studies in Brown Humanity*, 1898, pp. 186–201) and in the aborigines of Siberia by Czaplicka (*Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, chap. xv).

Discussing the cause of these and similar outbreaks, Seligman (1929, p. 198) thinks it probable that some of them are due to malaria. It will be noted that in three of the cases observed by me

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XV

OTHER BELIEFS: CHIEFLY CONCERNING GHOSTS AND SPIRITS

ASSOCIATION OF *URAR* WITH ANIMALS

[775] IT was stated in the foregoing chapter that *urar* have the power to assume the forms of various creatures, in which guise they are visible to human beings. This statement requires further explanation. Those to whom they appear do not recognize them as *urar*, till some untoward happening in their relations with the animal, or fish, or bird in question opens their eyes to the true character of the being with which they have to do. It is said that a man who dies of 'poison' sometimes becomes a shark and goes and eats the man who made the poison against him, then he turns back again into an *urar*.

[784] The *urar* haunt certain places in the bush. In such spots no one wittingly hunts, fishes, or cuts down trees. Those who inadvertently break this taboo are punished in various ways by the *urar*. If they try to fell the trees, the trees stand up again as soon as they are cut down, or fall in an unexpected direction and kill those standing near. If they fish in the bush pools, they find when they open their baskets to take out their spoil that the fish have changed into snakes, which bite them, or into sharks, which attack them. If they stand on a reef to fish, the reef gradually sinks under them till they are up to their waists in water, and the fish they catch all escape from their nets. People who go alone to places belonging to the *urar* disappear mysteriously and are never seen again. When we passed such places in our journeyings, they would be pointed out to me in awed whispers, and the party always seemed ill at ease till we were out of sight of them. One such spot is at the mouth of the Umu River, which we crossed on our way from Kurtatchi to Baniu. A little lower down from the place at which we crossed it there is a reef over which a wave breaks every now and again, making a circle of foam, which belongs to an *urar* called Urit ('Sea-Urchin'), who makes people drown. A whirlpool in a stream near Porton plantation, about five miles from Kurtatchi, is the location of the

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following incident, which was told by a man who claimed to be related to the *urar* Mategin:

There is a place in the river where the water swirls round, just as if it were boiling, but it is not hot. There are a lot of fish in it. They are *urar* fish. There is one fish which is black, with red and white marks round its mouth, and hair like a man's, the fish is an *urar*. When he is an *urar* his name is Mategin, he walks about at night, then he looks just like a big tree. He goes to Soraken, to Torrikorri, and to Saposa (all these places are on the other side of the bay). The water belongs to him. A man named Takoman, who used to work for white men in the time of the Germans (i.e. before the war, when this island was a German dependency, and its white population was largely German), lit some dynamite[1] and threw it into the middle of the water among the fish. The dynamite flared up. The fish did not die, not one single fish was killed. Takoman went to look for the fish. All the *urar* were angry with him: 'Why do you try to kill us with dynamite?' Then he became *iburar* all the time. He did bad things, he thought about nothing but women. (Here follow details which indicate that the man was a sexual maniac.) His relatives could have cured him if they had taken some of the water from the pool belonging to the *urar* and poured it over his head and made a feast. But they were so angry with him because he shot dynamite in a river which is taboo, that they would not make the medicine, so he remained *iburar*, and got worse and worse till he died.

I give below another illustration of the transformation of *urar* as typical of this kind of story, of which there are a number in my collection. They are all told as actual happenings, distinct from those that are recognized to be merely tales.

There was a man who went fishing at dead of night in the open sea. Just before dawn he saw an *urar* come up, he walked above the water (his feet about a foot from the surface, distance shown by a gesture). He pursued the man in the canoe, the man paddled away. The *urar* turned into a shark, he came after the canoe. The canoe stopped. The shark climbed up on to the outrigger. The man cursed it. The shark turned into an *urar* again, and moved about above the water. Then he turned into a *hitat5* (a large round fish, possibly a groper). He reared up, he wanted to throw himself down on the top of the canoe so as to upset it. The man paddled hard, he got away and went farther out to sea. The *hitat5* turned again into a shark. Then dawn broke, the shark became an *urar* again and disappeared. The man went ashore at his own village. He told all the people. They all said: 'Oh rubbish, you are fooling, where

[1] Dynamite is used by planters to stun fish; the natives are forbidden to use it except under supervision, but they get hold of it when they can.

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is this *urar*?' 'I don't know where he is.' 'All right, by and by we will all go and paddle.' Another day some of the other people saw the *urar*, they saw him turn into a shark and into a *kitat5*; then they knew that what the man had told them was true.

My attention was first drawn to these transformations of *urar* into animals in connexion with discussions on death, and it is quite clear that this power is ascribed to the ghosts of people who have died and become *urar*. But while listening to tales dealing with similar transformations in the course of an evening's story-telling, I noticed that some of these beings did not seem to be regarded with quite the same intensity of fear and dread that was associated with the ghosts of the dead, although the same word, *urar*, was used. Furthermore, in translating these stories into pidgin-English, the word *maselai* was used in some cases, whereas the pidgin-English term for the ghost of a dead person is *tamboran*. When I inquired into this distinction, my informants were very vague in their replies, insisting that both were *urar*. Then my servant, who was present at the discussion, told me that in the Petats dialect they used different words, *amat* for the spirit of a person who had died, which he gave as the equivalent to the pidgin-English *tamboran*, and *halelehan* for the other spirits who were called in pidgin-English *maselai*. It would seem, therefore, as if there really were two kinds of spirits, one kind consisting of the ghosts of dead persons, and the other of spirits who had never been men, though the distinction is somewhat blurred in the use of the same word for both kinds in the Kurtatchi dialect. Perhaps the natives are not very clear about it themselves, for whenever I asked them to explain what they meant by *urar* I was always told that it was a person who had died a long time ago. Since returning home, I have discovered that the same dual meaning is attached to the word *adaro* at San Cristoval and to the word *akalo* at Ulawa and Mala (Fox, 1924, p. 107), which corroborates the evidence given above.

Among the spirits which are called *urar* but should perhaps (though I am not certain as to this) not be considered as the ghosts of persons who have died, there are apparently included certain *urar* who, in the form of animals, are associated with individual men or women in a manner rather difficult to define, but constituting a bond which is clearly recognized. Such an individual claims that the *urar*-creature is 'my kinsman' (*boomi*), that it will come at his call, and at his bidding will assist him, or his friends,

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or will desist from harming them. This association is reported with sharks, snakes, and crocodiles, there may be other creatures of which I have no record. Only a few individuals stand in this relationship. They may be either men or women; they are known by their fellow villagers to have influence over the creatures with which they are associated, and are sometimes asked to use this influence upon their *urar*-kinsmen in the public interest, being paid in ceremonial currency for their intervention. Conversely, they will interfere on behalf of their *urar*-kinsmen when occasion arises. A few examples will serve to illustrate this relationship.

A crocodile was caught in a dam which was set up to catch fish. A man who was kin to the crocodile came and said that it was not to be killed, because it was his kinsman, but must be allowed to go back into the sea. so the fishermen broke their dam and let the water in and the crocodile escaped.

Some snakes were eating a man who had got lost in the bush belonging to the snake *urar*. A man who was kin to the snakes went to look for the missing man, and when he saw what was happening he called out to the snakes: 'Why are you doing harm to this man? He is not a stranger, he is a friend of mine, you must loose him and go away.' So the snakes let go of the man and went away.[1]

There was a woman who was kin to the *urar* who lived in a certain part of the sea. She asked to be taken in a canoe to visit her kinsmen. The canoe-men did not understand, they thought she wanted to visit her human kinsmen. Ceremonial pudding and other food was prepared, and they set out with the woman, and went straight to this part of the sea. Then the woman said to the men: 'All right, you stop the canoe just here.' So they stopped the canoe. The men said: 'Where do you want to go?' She said: 'Just here,' and pointed straight down into the water. Then the woman took the food and threw it into the sea. All the men looked, the food disappeared, it was lost. Then the woman jumped into the sea. She went down altogether. She had no paint on her hair, and wore no ornaments. The men waited for her, she did not come up. They all cried, they thought she was lost altogether, they were sorry about her. They waited for her a long time, then she came back. She did not come up in the sea, she came up on the shore. She came up with a woman's pack on her back, it was full of pieces of pig she had been given in the place of the *urar*, and they had put paint on her hair

[1] A very similar but more detailed story which I obtained from another village is given in full in my paper in *Folk-lore* (1932, p. 86).

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and given her ornaments. The men took her again into the canoe and went back to the village. All the people of the village came and asked her: 'Where have you been?' She did not want to tell them, but they kept on asking her, they gave her no peace. At last she said: 'If you look behind you, you will see all my kinsmen coming up.' Then all the kinsmen of the woman came up on to the sand near the village. They were all sharks. (Here the teller explained that they were *urar* who had turned into sharks.) Then the woman said to the people of the village: 'All right, you people come to the shore, come and see my kinsmen.' Then they all went to look, then they understood. Then the woman sent all the sharks away again. She said to them: 'All right, you people go back now, I only wanted to show you to all the men who kept asking me about you, they never stopped asking me, but I did not want to talk about it, so I called you all to show you to the men.'

The man who told me this said afterwards: 'This woman was not an *urar*, she was a real person. I have seen the place where it happened; the man belonging to the place, who told me about it, said she was a relative of his, and he used to eat at her house.'

In most of the cases of this kind of association which came under my notice, it had been inherited from some relative belonging to the same clan, and its possessor did not know how it had originated. In one or two instances, however, the connexion between an individual and a shark was traced back to an ancestor who bore a child in the shape of a shark. Togen (a middle-aged man belonging to the village of Timputs, but living at Kurtatchi since his marriage to one of the daughters of the *tsunaun*), after telling me a story concerning a woman who bore a shark-child,[1] added that his own shark was called Muwatskawits, and lived at Timputs: 'My grandmother (*tubunē*, used for an actual grandparent or for any ancestor farther back) bore it a long time ago.' If a shark from another place wants to eat any of Togen's people at Timputs, Muwatskawits chases him away, and says: 'You must not eat my children. I don't want you to come here. If you don't go back I shall kill you.'

It seems a fair inference, from the use of the word *boanē* to describe this relationship, that the creature is considered to be a member of the same clan as that of the individual associated with it (see the discussion of this term on p. 33). I did not find any indications that certain animals were associated only with persons of any given clan, e.g. sharks with Naboin or crocodiles with Nakarib. It seems to be a purely personal association, but in trans-

[1] This story is given in my paper in *Folk-lore* (1932, p. 83).

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ferring the creature to some one else when at the point of death, the individual apparently chooses a relative belonging to the same clan as himself; this would be natural if the shark were thought to have been born to an ancestor, as in the case of Togen just quoted. They appear to be definitely associated with persons rather than with places, and so differ from the 'tutelary sharks' described by Ivens (1927, p. 230, &c.). Neither do they correspond exactly to the 'familiar' as described on Ulawa by Ivens (p. 239) and on San Cristoval by Fox (1924, p. 231), for they do not bear the name of the person who is associated with them neither do they die when the man dies. Ivens makes mention of 'incarnations' of the dead as sharks, swordfish, crocodiles, megapodes, &c. (p. 187), but he does not indicate whether any association with these is claimed by living individuals.

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ASSOCIATION OF *URAR* WITH STONES

As well as the association of *urar* with places, described in previous paragraphs, there is a much more intimate connexion between certain *urar* and particular stones or rocks, the locality and names of which are known to all. The *urar* is not supposed merely to inhabit the stone, or the stone to belong to the *urar*, but the two are completely identified, so that the *urar is* the stone. Associated with many such stones is the belief that at night they again become *urar*, or in some cases human beings, and walk about, or go fishing, or dance.

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Where the origin of the connexion between the *urar* and the stone is given, the *urar* is certainly thought to be the ghost of a person who has died; but as in many cases no explanation of the identification was forthcoming, I am not able to say whether this holds true of all. In illustration of this belief may be cited the following:

Two women died and became *urar*. Their name was Kakenmon. (The name seems to belong to the two of them together.) Two children went looking for hermit crabs in holes; the two *urar* stole the children, and took them away. The father of the two children lit a fire and made smoke to drive the *urar* away. Now they are stones, they are on the beach at Rana, two stones, two women, the name of the two stones is Kakenmon. At night they are *urar*, and play on the shore; when the sun rises they become stones again.

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A man died and was thrown into the sea. His body came to the surface and drifted, and was caught under some mangroves. Some men who

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775 778 823 539 were fishing saw him sitting on the top of the reef at the edge of the surf. They ran away and told his mother and his wife, who came to look at him. They recognized him, and were glad, but when he saw them he disappeared under a stone. They could not find him again. They brought paint and ornaments and put them on the stone. The man remained fast underneath the stone. Now he is stone, he is called Tchibo, he is at the Passage.

775 778 823 538 Tchibo was pointed out to me. It is a large rock in Buka Passage, just off the end of a small island of which it must once have formed part (Pl. 76). There are many stories about Tchibo; they are related all over Buka and the North Bougainville coast, with appropriate local variations. He is supposed to have stood originally on the east coast of Bougainville, near Numanuma. He wandered all along the north coast, looking for a place to stay, but the *urar* of each place drove him away. After repeated efforts, each detailed in full in the stories with endless repetition, he came to Buka Passage. There he overpowered Hinoal, the *urar* in possession, and remained there altogether. The Petats people say that Hinoal ran away northwards, and as he ran he threw up the reef which now fringes the west coast of Buka, to prevent Tchibo from following him. Tchibo, in pursuit, made the deep channels which break the reef at intervals, through which ships now pass. Finally, Tchibo gave up the chase and went back to the Passage, but Hinoal went on and went on till he came to a certain point on the west coast of Petats. Here a rock named Tabulat called to him to come and join him; so he did. They decided to join forces, and went together back to the Passage and attacked Tchibo. Tabulat cut off Tchibo's legs, and Tchibo fell down and died. Since then he has been a stone and has not wandered any more. Tabulat and Hinoal went back to Petats. They are two rocks on the shore, every Petats native knows how they came to be there. The Tiop people say it was Tchibo who made Tiop into an island; before he broke through it was joined by a narrow isthmus to the mainland of Bougainville. The people of Saposa say that their culture heroine, Morena, made all the little islands by breaking pieces off Tchibo after he had taken up his position in Buka Passage, and that she provided the people with good water to drink by sending Tchibo to break through the bush and make places for the rivers.

The Tchibo series is the most elaborate and most widely diffused stone-myth that I came across. But there is an almost unlimited

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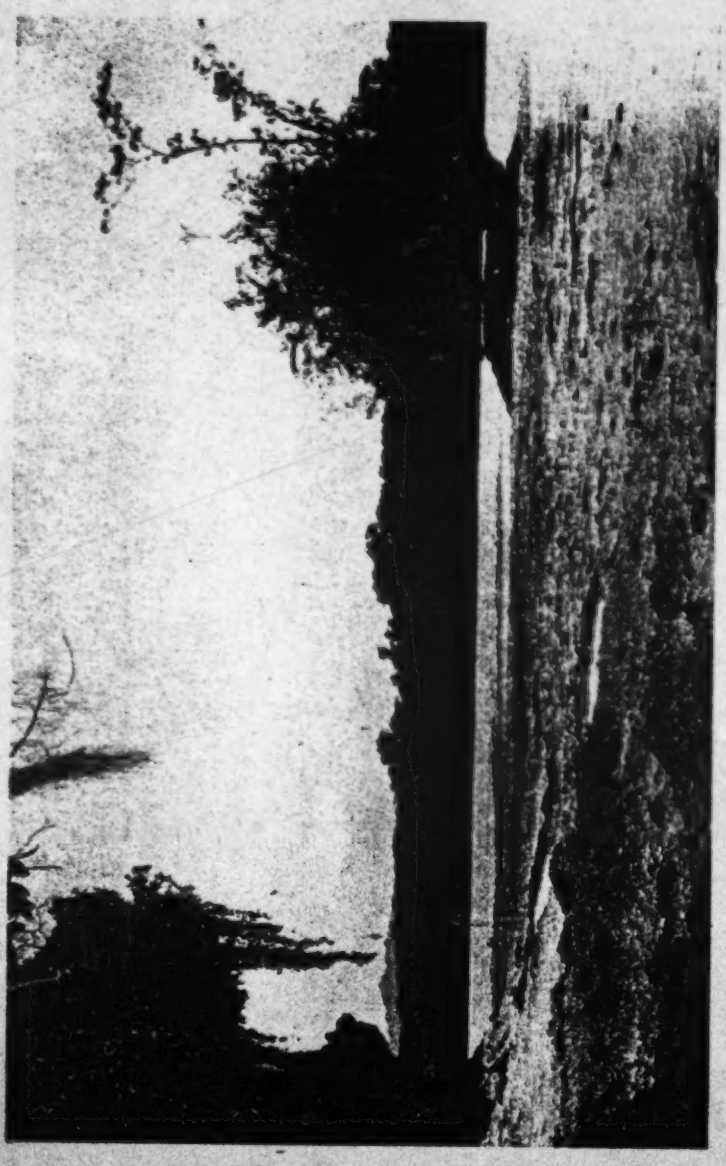
PLATE 76



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THE ROCK TCHIBO, IN BUKA PASSAGE

[facing p. 528]

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supply of more or less local stories associating various stones or rocks[1] with *urar* and attributing to them certain powers and activities. I have notes on a number of these, of which the following are given as typical:

Mururi is the name of an *urar*; he is a rock on the beach at Timputs, which has a hole in its base. All the driftwood collects there, but no one takes it for firewood. Once a man did take some, and Mururi was very angry and prevented him from catching any fish. Some one who knew about Mururi told him what he had done.

There is a stone on the beach near Kurtatchi, which is an *urar* called Musinē. At night he becomes a man and goes fishing in the sea. He belongs to the Naboin clan; the Nakarib people cannot see him when he is a man. Once he had a mouth, but the sea dashed a big tree against his mouth and broke it.

Tawalir (the word means 'branch') is a horizontal stalagmitic formation, somewhat resembling the branch of a tree, at the lower edge of a big hole in the limestone cliff near Tabut. The story is that Tawalir used to be several miles farther east, but it quarrelled with another stone there, and said: ' You stop here, I will go and be master at the other point (the other horn of a bay).' So he went across the bay and climbed the cliff to the place where he is now. At night he comes to life and walks about. He is an *urar*.

Ku'enia is a rock on the east coast of Bu[illegible] near Malasang. It has a flat top. Fishermen put fish on it for the st[illegible]d the stone eats them.

Matapar is another rock a little farther along the same coast. When men go fishing they take some sand and throw it on to the top of the stone, then plenty of little fish come close inshore.

Tonopoi is a rock which gives a man boils. Then he goes and rubs his boils against the stone, and says: 'Take back what you gave me.' Then the boils get well. This stone belongs to the Nakarib people.

Karakela is a rock which sticks up out of the water. If a very high tide comes and threatens to swamp the shore, the stone calls out and sends it back, saying the sea must not come up and spoil the places where it gets its food.

[1] The native word *wats* is used for both 'stone' and 'rock', so it is difficult to make a distinction. Those I have seen were in most cases large pieces which had at some time in the past broken away from the cliffs near by.

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775 A stone lying on the ground in the bush at the foot of the cliff
778 near Lonahan, on the east coast of Buka, is supposed to represent
823 the body of the woman who taught people to eat human flesh, by
538 giving to her daughter and her son-in-law pieces of her own flesh to eat with their taro, saying it was pig. This story is not merely local, I heard it also in several places in North Bougainville. It is given in full in my paper in *Folk-Lore* (1932, pp. 74–6). The stone is called Tchinaleke, which was the name of the woman. It is a block of limestone, of similar formation to the cliff, and much weathered. It bears no traces of human handiwork, but has a rough resemblance to an emaciated woman lying on her side with the legs at right angles, the legs being truncated about a foot from the fork. The head is missing, and is said to have been lost so long ago that no one now living remembers having seen it. The stone is said to turn over once in a while, and point the legs the other way round, and sometimes to lie with the head end pointing towards the sea. Actually, it lies parallel with the coast-line.

A stone which appears to have been of ceremonial significance was reported to me. Unfortunately I discovered its existence too late to visit the spot. My informant had not seen it, and I was unable to get any details as to its shape. It is connected with a man named Tchinakerits, who was killed by a spear and turned into this stone; the stone has the mark of a spear thrust upon it. It was set up at the foot of a banyan tree, but it went back of its own accord to Wanabus, where Tchinakerits lived when he was alive. Now it is on the beach near Timputs. At night it walks about and makes footprints like a man shuffling along. (Here the teller walked about with a shuffling gait to illustrate how the stone is supposed to walk.) In the olden days, when a man died they took the stone out to sea with his body and threw both into the sea together; the stone came back to its place. Then they made a feast at the end of the mourning period, and put lime and ceremonial currency on the stone, and washed the stone. If this were not done, the *urar* of the stone would kill the children of the dead person. I have this information from one informant only, a Timputs man whom I did not know; there is nothing else in my collection exactly comparable, and the subject needs more investigation than I was able to give it.

552 The natives often call stones or rocks of peculiar shape after things or creatures to which they are supposed to bear some resemblance, just as we do ourselves. For example, there are several

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Tukis clearly corresponds to the Kakamora of San Cristoval as described by Fox (p. 140 ff.). Not only does the description tally exactly, but some of the tales are identical. Some of the stories in my collection concerning both Pinari and Tukis are recorded of *nitu* in the Mono-Alu tales (Wheeler, 1926, *passim*).

There is nothing in the accounts of these 'little people' which I obtained from Buka and North Bougainville which will serve either to confirm or to refute Fox's suggestion that 'they may be the people who held the land before the Melanesians entered it, in very ancient times, and who are now extinct; or they may be the memories of other people from other islands whence the Melanesians came'. The occurrence of these stories in the northernmost islands of the Solomon group would be quite consistent with either hypothesis, and the possibility of a terrestrial origin is supported by the marked contrast between the rather jocular familiarity of the attitude of the natives towards these beings and the very real dread which is inspired by the *urar*.

Summary

The various kinds of supernormal beings in which the people of this area believe may be distinguished as follows:

urar (Petats dialect *amat*). Spirits of the dead, who live in the region of the volcano Balbi; can return to help or to harm the living, and are invoked on various ceremonial occasions.

urar (Petats dialect *halelehan*) is also used to refer to spirits who have never been men; these are associated with certain localities or, in the form of animals, with certain individuals; they are not regarded with such intense awe and fear as are the spirits of the dead.

Pinari (Petats Tatopiok). A goblin, or group of goblins, with white skin and very long legs.

Tukis (Petats Kirin), another group of bush goblins, about a foot high, with very dark skin.

Both Pinari and Tukis live in the bush and play tricks on people; they are regarded with half-fearful, half-affectionate amusement rather than with dread, although they are supposed to kill and eat human beings if they get the chance.

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legends in my collection, the telling of some of which may possibly have occasioned it.

No. 88. Patu (middle-aged male, village of Kohiso, Central Buka).

I dreamed about my brother who is dead. I went to look for him, and came to a big place, with big houses on each side and a road in the middle. There were a lot of people. They all asked: 'Who is this?' Some of them said: 'Oh, he is a relative of mine.' Then they beckoned me to go into a house and said it was mine. This is a good dream.

The dreams in this category are fairly evenly distributed among adults and adolescents, males and females, and give an accurate picture of the psychological importance to these people of their conception of the *urar*. The proportion of dreams involving death was undoubtedly somewhat increased by the death of two villagers within a short interval; but for many of them no immediate external cause could be assigned, other than the fear of death which is very present to every one in the community. It would be interesting to ascertain the proportion of dreams involving death in a comparable collection from our own community.

(*b*) *Incidents of everyday life.*

In this category I have placed dreams, common I take it in the experience of every dreamer, which deal with events or activities which either do, or might very well, happen in the course of an ordinary day, without being in any way unusual. They are frequently identified with incidents in the recent waking life of the dreamer. Many of them deal with the occupations associated with the provision of food, e.g. hunting, fishing, working in the taro garden, &c. They seem to be more frequent among men and boys than among women and girls, perhaps because hunting and fishing are more exciting than most of the work performed by women.

Typical of this class are the following:

No. 16. Minka (adult male).

I dreamed that I went out in a big *mon* (plank canoe) to fish for bonito, and we caught a lot of bonito; then a shark came after the *mon*. We paddled hard, but the shark was just going to catch us when I woke up.

It was this dream that gave rise to the statement that the dreamer would not go out after bonito for a few days following it.

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

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The same motif is given by Thurnwald from Buin (p. 389) where [17] the woman becomes a dugong.

Class VIII. Stories about the Spirits of the Dead.

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The term used in all the stories included in this class is *mate* in the Petats dialect and *urar* in the Kurtatchi dialect. 775 These words have the very definite meaning of the spirits of dead persons, which, according to the native belief, can return, can interfere in the affairs of living people, generally for evil, and can, if they so desire, make themselves visible to men, either in the guise of human beings or as spirits, recognisable as such by certain peculiarities of person, *e.g.* "their eyes are light." The belief in these spirits is very real and profound, and the fear of them is a predominating influence in every native's life. Stories involving them were told and listened to with much more than the usual seriousness, and were clearly not looked upon as mere flights of the imagination. The full discussion of this question belongs to a chapter on social anthropology rather than to a presentation of folk-tales, and I must content myself in the present paper with giving one example in illustration of this category. I have used the native term *urar* in order to steer clear of the ambiguity involved in the word "spirit."

The orphan looks for his mother.

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(There was) a little child, his mother died. The child was very small, he could just walk. The men went to bury his mother, the child stayed behind. Then he followed the men who were carrying his mother. He went, he went, he went, he went, he came to the place belonging to the *urar*. He stopped at the edge of the water, he sat down. He saw a long stretch of sand, it was quite clear. He made a hole in the sand, big enough for himself. He went inside, he hid in the hole. He took some leaves, the leaves of the wild banana that grows in the bush, and covered up his head in